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551 *Xídam* (F): evening
104 *Mámaw* (F): a kind of herb used in magical practices.
192 *Pariyá* (F): a vine of the squash family with edible fruits, Momordica ovata. Cogn.

551 For the rest any name will do, provided it pleases everybody concerned. This was repeatedly told me all over Apayaw, although the preferences referred to above, either all three or only one or two of them, were usually mentioned, and occasionally the question of some circumstance connected with the time or place of birth.

551 177 Actually one finds more and more Isneg youngsters who bear a Christian name, not only the one given them at baptism or in school, but the original name given at birth. So at Nagsimbanan and at Magapta we find a *Delfín* (M); at Musimut, *Xosé* (José) (M); at Baliwanan, *Kolás* (Nicolás) (M); at Nagilian (Namaltugan), *Román* (M): at Butaw, *Siyón* (Concepción) (M); at Bayag, *Donáta* (F); at Bayag, *Faustína* (F); at Musimut, *Leónsiya* (Leoncia) (F); at Lako, *Máriya* (María) (F); at Musimut, *Méri* (Mary) (F); at Kabugaw, *Néli* (Nellie) (F); at Abbil, *Rufína* (F); at Bayag, *Simóna* (F); at Nagsimbanan, *Verón* (Verónica) (F).

Such names occur even among those of older people; in this case they were probably brought in from the lowlands, from the Christian provinces, whither the Isneg frequently went either on headhunting expeditions or with the purpose of bartering their wares for clothes and so on. Thus at Musimut there is a *Sáriyo* (Cesario) (M); at Genned, an *Isabél* (F). At Lettuakan there was a man, now dead, called *Antón* (Antonio), the father of a young man called *Asiyo* (Nicasio, Engracio, or some other name with a similar ending). Another *Antón* still lives at Bolo.

[554] Some Isneg names are nothing but the family name or the title of public servants.

551 Family names:

Bawánen (M), at Bayag: after Mr. Bawanen, a sanitary inspector.
Bunnáw (M), at Karagawan: a soldier.
Dison (M), at Mayaw: after Lt. Dizon of the Constabulary.
Dukúsen (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Ducusin, a former lieutenant-governor.
Galiyárdo (M), at Maduang: after Mr. Gallardo, a teacher.
Gársiya (M), at Lukab: after Lt. Garcia of the Constabulary.
Xárma (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Garma, a teacher.

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Insiso (M), at Lukab: after Mr. Enciso, a municipal treasurer. 551
Köner (M), at Nagbabalayan, at Ripang and at Tawit: after Mr. Norman G. Connor, the second lieutenant-governor of Apayaw.
Liñan (M), at Bolo: a soldier.
Makánas (M), at Bolo: a nurse.
Mina (M), a Bolo: formerly connected with the Bureau of Public Works.
Siddáyáw (M), at Nagbabalayan: soldier.
Tagubá (M), at Bolo and at Tawit: a nurse.

Titles: 554.

Bokonadôr (M), at Nagsimbanan: vaccinator (Spanish: *vacunador*).
Fôrman (M), at Bubulayan: the title by which the chief inspector of roads is known all over the district.
Kábo (M), at Nagbabalayan: corporal (Spanish: *cabo*)
Meistará (F), at Abbil, at Maduang and at Kabetayan (Kabugaw): lady teacher (Spanish: *maestra*).

Just to show how little the Isneg sometimes care for the kind of name that is given to their offspring, I merely mention here the name *Sentávo* (Spanish *centavo*, a copper coin worth one half cent), which is most certainly not a very precious one. You can meet a Mr. *Sentávo* at Madatag and one at Ampaw. 551

In general it must be said that a definite set of names is the exclusive property of boys, and that another set is particular to girls. Nevertheless it may happen that a certain name is given to boys in some localities, while in others the same one is given to girls. [184]

So we have *Asép*, which is the name of three girls I know, one at Nagilian (Namaltugan), one at Madatag, and one at Alumani, while a Baliwanan boy is called by the same name.

Bañón: two girls: one at Magapta and one at Waga; a boy at Talifugu.

Éba: a girl at Lukab; a boy at Karagawan.

Luwé-: a girl at Nagbabalayan; a boy at Lako.

Osáñ: a girl at Nagilian (Namaltugan); a boy at Lukab.

Pili: a girl at Nagbabalayan; boy at Maduang.

At Nagbabalayan there is a man called *Báñan*, which is the name of the most popular heroine of Kankanay tales.

But such coincidences are of comparatively rare occurrence.

And now I come to the question of changing the name given at birth. 553
All over northern Luzon, among Christians as well as among pagans, 171

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakáy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároñ*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *urúd*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

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his rights, won the sympathy of every unbiased Isneg. He kept up the quarrel and finished it with a complete victory. If no constabulary soldiers had been in the province, the result would evidently not have been as bloodless as that, and a series of interminable feuds would have been the inevitable result. Right and wrong would gradually have been forgotten, and nothing would have been left but a series of revenges on both sides following one another in quick succession, revenges that would have come to be considered lawful in the eyes of every Isneg on account of the injuries that would have preceded them.

The above lines were written while I was away from Kabugaw. When on my way back thither, and before reaching the latter place, I heard that during my absence *Kadáw* had killed *Rukkadéú*, a policeman from Baliwanan and the latest husband (he was the third one) of the woman referred to in the previous paragraph. Instead of going straight to Kabugaw, I stopped for a while at Bolo and had a little conversation about the matter with *Káyábo*, a Bolo brave or *mékal*. Bolo is in sympathy with Lettuakan, *Kadáw's* place, and *Káyábo* did not fail to show that he held no brief for Baliwanan, nor for *Pa-rdy* either. At a certain moment the old fellow stopped his diatribe to ask for *Pa-rdy's* title, and a complacent companion told him that *Pa-rdy* was now "presidente". At this juncture *Káyábo* said: "*Desirénte, kawél* (president, dung)", which is the most forceful expression of contempt in the mouth of an Isneg.

On the same occasion I purposely referred to *Basílig* of Pansian, who belongs to the *Pa-rdy* faction, saying that I had seen an *andóri* (a special tattoo on the arm of a man who has taken the head of an enemy; this *andóri* may sometimes be tattooed on the arm of one of his children) on the arm of his daughter, which I told *Káyábo* I supposed to be a proof of the valor of *Basílig*. But *Káyábo* could not bear to hear any praise of a man who belonged to a faction he despised, and he used a most vulgar expression in denying *Basílig's* rights to such honors: "*Óki náyá atáwana ya andórina* (the vulva of his wife is his *andóri*)". This again shows that in the eyes of an Isneg an enemy has no rights, that no consideration is due to him, that he is a complete nonentity, while a friend is to be supported by all means, even though by committing a most flagrant injustice. *Kadáw* is now in jail, but most all Isneg are firmly convinced that ere long he will get out of it, because he is supposed to be the richest man in Apayaw.

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837 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

836 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[824] or the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[593] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[157] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

834 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They
476 have common interests and often work together in
342 exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small
628 stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *baran-*
648 *gay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a
676 peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them.
672 Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally
721 responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and
[554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 When the demand either for revenge or for heads
411 becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head
726 hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.